301 The women's clothes are much simpler and scantier than the
291 men's. They simply consist of a piece of cotton cloth dyed blue, black or red, about two yards long, which is tightly wrapped around the lower part of the body and is tied at the waist with flax cord. The upper part of the body, up to the waist, and legs, from the feet to the knees, remain totally uncovered. By way of ornaments they wear long strings of tiny colored beads around the wrists and long, colored bead necklaces around the neck, as well as self-made mother-of-pearl amulets and some of the more well-to-do women even wear strings of silver coins. Bead necklaces are also
●[58] worn in large numbers by young men during the period of their betrothal. In other words the women's wardrobes are not a serious worry to the husbands. Up to their sixth year, children run about completely naked apart from some bead or button ornaments likewise hung on them.

481 The men walk ahead of their wives, a long leaf-shaped paddle
562 in one hand and a small net-like basket containing as little as
482 possible in the other, while the heavily laden women trot behind them with short, swaying steps, along with the children. Even from their visits to town one can observe that the woman has been given the role of the load and work-horse.

482 On her back the woman carries a heavily laden basket which is strapped around her forehead, while the youngest child sits thrust out in riding position on her hip, with the mother's arm holding him tightly. In her other hand she usually carries a bundle and a cooking pot.

574 One of their first visits in town is at the local priest's. The
717 latter claims that the Cayapa are Catholics. But this is not true.
301 Probably they only go to the priest because he seeks to prove the blessings of the Catholic Church by means of small presents and holy coins, which, one must admit, do look very pretty worn around the neck. At home they have their own cult.

481 Their happiness is apparent when they leave the vicarage, be-
198 cause they have again received presents. They amble down the business streets, curious, amazed and admiring as they go from one shop to the other. "Chindo, Kachindo, compadre?" the gutter-snipes call after them. (The first two words are in the Cayapa language, the third is Spanish; the sentence means: "Where're going, fellow?") "Caminando, viendo, comprando, compadre"
[91] ("going for a walk, seeing, buying, brother") the men answer politely, but in very poor Spanish.

437 They have sold the new small canoes, tree bark mats
[501 (damajaguas), palm-leaf fans, rubber and rolls of liana (these are
295 used in the construction of bamboo huts to tie up the palm-leaves
283] on the [284] roofs and for some other purposes in lieu of string),
which they have brought from the villages and with the cash they
have earned they now make their small purchases. They have
few wants and do not need much: a few feet of cotton cloth, a
chopping knife, some salt, a small mirror, glass beads, fish hooks,
[311] powder and small shot for the old muzzle-loader which a few of
them may own. This would be all their heart desires. It is little,
even very little, and yet it takes long, even very long, until they
have made their choice and finally decided to buy. First they
talk it over among themselves in their guttural and sonorous lan-
guage and then they start bargaining, and then they count out their
money slowly and cautiously; finally having managed to get the
[342] desired goods, they packed them into the nearly full basket car-
ried by the wife. The women and girls timidly hide behind their
576 menfolk. When spoken to, they do not answer, although they
571 understand sufficient Spanish. Their jealous menfolk have strictly
[341] forbidden them to enter into conversation with men of other races
or tribes. They draw back bashfully. But if the husband is not
present, only the mother or brother, the women become very
loquacious, especially when their tongue has been untied by a
small present--a mirror, necklace or something of the kind. And
they are happy beyond words if you caress their little child, who
looks like a Japanese baby painted brown, and has a friendly smile
even for a stranger. It is amusing to watch the women meeting a
fashionably dressed lady in one of the shops; then they surround
her laughing, amazed and admiring, but they do not appear to be
jealous of the lace dresses worn by European women. The men,
on the other hand, do not honor even the most beautiful and most
elegant white lady with so much as a glance.

[42 The Cayapa girls are pretty from the age of 12 to 16 years,
302 their bodies somewhat plump, but still with a beautiful shape.
● 584 Sometimes young men and women can be seen with red and black
streaks and dots on their faces, chest, arms and legs; this is a
sign that they are engaged.

505 Once their business in town is finished they prepare for the re-
turn journey to their villages. "Adios compadre, adios comadres,"
and chattering and laughing, happy and content, they hurry to
the shore where their canoes are moored. On their way they

352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
942 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cook-
ing utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
622 ing and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who
rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes
sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not
interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful
Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

589 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father
turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the
young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible,
consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They
will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price
for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from
what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted
with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
611 family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows,
i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to
kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting
feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take
place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who
will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but
also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these.
It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to
undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique
will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes)
with the whip. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but
bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his
teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the
test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
878 can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will
be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato
(corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
915 ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

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[415] they are by bringing along "Mates" and "Calabazas," i.e. bowls and pitchers made of the rind of pumpkin-like fruit, into which they put the greatest part of the food and drink offered in order to carry them home. Only when everybody has eaten until he is ready to burst and the majority are rather drunk, the wedding draws to a close. The young couple is finally left alone and may go to their hut. But before the couple are allowed to enjoy their love to the full, they must pass through a long cruel (because it is continent) trial period. They live and sleep together under their
[286] common mosquito-net made of cotton with red flowers, but not as husband and wife, but as brother and sister, and they are not allowed to touch each other for an entire year. They must remain pious, chaste and abstemious, no matter how difficult it may be for them. The purpose is to steel the virtue of abstemiousness and the strength of will. Only when this period of fasting and trial is over, may they succumb to the ecstasies of love. Woe to those
684 who cannot withstand and secretely attempt to taste of the forbidden fruit before the end of the trial year—if discovered they pay for their crime with their lives or have to seek refuge immediately in another territory which cannot be reached by the punishing arm of their strict rulers. Only once I had occasion to watch how a fiancé, who was violently in love, gingerly and furtively with trembling hands touched the arm and naked breast of his betrothed.

302 During this year of betrothal they use red and black plant juices
● 584 to paint their faces, chests, arms and legs with streaks and dots. This custom corresponds to our engagement announcements and wedding rings.

846 Immediately after the birth of a baby, the young mother gets
[515] up from her bed, goes to the river and bathes. Bathing in the river is one of the Cayapas' passions. Each and everyone of them take at least two or even three baths per day. The young mother has barely left her child when the grandmother cleans it up a bit, puts it down again; and then the father lies down with it, staying in bed with the child from three to five weeks, letting his wife nurse him, just as though he were the woman in child-bed, who had gone through the pains of childbirth and was in need of recuperating and nursing care. The young mother, on the other hand, does her usual work already an hour after delivery, attending to her daily chores as though nothing had happened. This strange custom is connected with their religious concepts and their fear of evil spirits

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

MARRIAGE

When a young man or a young woman desires to marry a certain person, all work other than that absolutely necessary, and all social relations with other individuals, are at an end. Such a person sits throughout the day without speaking to anyone, and no matter how much he or she may be addressed or made fun of, etiquette does not permit such a person to respond or even to laugh. 584

It sometimes happens that a young man is desirous of marrying a woman who cares nothing for him. In such a case, if his ordinary endeavors to gain her interest and attention fail, he resorts to the use of certain sweet-scented herbs, the woods of certain trees, and various other objects, which are supposed to have magic power to attract and to give him good luck in such matters. He wears such charms about his person, especially attached to his necklaces. [832]

A young man in love bides his time until the other members of his family have retired for the night, when he takes his canoe and paddles to a point near the house of the young woman he wishes to marry. On nearing her home he sings softly certain magic love-songs and then cautiously approaches the house. He then, according to some informants, attracts her attention by one means or another and endeavors to persuade her to leave the house with him for a time. According to others, he cautiously enters the house and passes a part of the night with her under her own mosquito canopy. In either case they part toward morning, so that the lover is able to return to his own home without the 583 584 [533]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

583 knowledge of his family. These visits are repeated for
584 some time, when the young couple announce their desire to marry and obtain the consent of their respective parents. After this, conditions very largely govern their procedure. By some it is said that at present they go immediately to the house of the bride's or the groom's father, or to a new house of their own as soon as one can be built, and there live as man and wife without any
585 special ceremony; indeed the only ceremony celebrated is that of the church on the next annual visit of the Catholic priest. Others maintain that, having obtained the consent of all parties concerned, some time elapses before what may be called the preliminary wedding feast and ceremony. In this interval the young man and his friends must hunt and procure game, which is dried for the feast, and must provide presents for the parents and other relatives of the bride. The bride, on the other hand, provides certain of the other foods, such as plantains and corn, and she and her family make gifts to the family of the groom. There is no exchange of presents between the bride and the groom, however, and there is nothing which can in any way be construed as a purchase of the bride. Finally the relatives and friends of the contracting couple assemble, and a feast of from one to two or three days is held. At this feast the young couple are brought in and are given each ten lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails by the chief. This whipping is considered as a consummation and legalization of their
585 marriage, so far as civil procedure is concerned. It
177 seems probable that this custom is a survival of aboriginal times and that the marriage ceremony has not been so

instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

main classes of officials. First, there is the /ún^{y}i/ or gobernador; second, there is the /kása ún^{y}i/ or gobernador nueveo; and third, there are those officials called /č$\acute{a}^{i}$tala/. This term may derive from /čači/ 'people' and /-tala/ 'together,' that is, an official who gathers people together. Those officials who are called capitán or /tónde/, the latter from teniente, and the secretario, seem to be /č$\acute{a}^{i}$tala/ and are listed on the official roles in the provincial capital of Esmeraldas. Regardless of Spanish title, the /ča^{i}tala/ are not functionally distinct. That is, the duties of all of the officials are the same: to help arrange marriages and to settle disputes. At the ceremonial center they may as a group try a case while the /ún^{y}i/ listens to the proceedings and comes to a decision. In addition to these officials, there are individuals who are called policeman and who are available at the request of any of the officials. Their duties include the bringing in of culprits for trial as well as aiding in the maintenance of a modicum of order at the fiestas.

The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[P.123]

CHAPTER III

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Children are important to the Cayapa and are welcomed because it is essential that a man or a woman have children who can perform a boda or memorial feast for the deceased parent(s) several years after death. The spirit of the dead parent would be unhappy and vexed, if this were not done. In addition, as we have discussed, the family is economically important. There is ample motivation for the Cayapa to begin a family and a variety of methods are available.

> When a young man or a young woman desires to marry a certain person, all work other than that absolutely necessary, and all social relations with other individuals, are at an end. Such a person sits throughout the day without speaking to anyone, and no matter how much he or she may be addressed or made fun of, etiquette does not permit such a person to respond or even to laugh. . . A young swain then bides his time until the other members of his family have retired for the night, when he takes his canoe and paddles to a point near the house of the young woman he wishes to marry. On nearing her home he sings softly certain magic love-songs and then cautiously approaches the house. He then, according to some informants, attracts her attention by one

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> means or another and endeavors to persuade her to leave the house with him for a time. According to others, he cautiously enters the house and passes a part of the night with her under her own mosquito canopy . . . These visits are repeated for some time, when the young couple announce their desire to marry and obtain the consent of their respective parents (Barrett 1925:321).

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In 1959-60, in the Cayapa area generally, and particularly in the Punta Venado region, the custom of remaining sitting in silence was apparently no longer in vogue, except during the actual wedding celebration, when the groom does indeed sit off to one side in silence. However, the technique of nightly visitation is still a culturally approved method, but only one of several.

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Stealing a Woman. Some men prefer to "steal a woman" for wife. This is called /súpu taŋgahímu/, /súpu/ "woman" and /támu/ "to steal." Lorenzo Martín, commonly called /pičendé/, "a kind of crested bird" [a nick name he detested], preferred this approach to marriage. According to him, he met his first wife while canoeing along the river. They were both alone, and after some minutes of conversation, he proposed

and she agreed. Now, with a new wife, neither he nor his mother-in-law wanted to live under the same roof. Feelings of anger and/or disapproval on the part of parents and kin of the dead spouse to the remarriage of the surviving spouse are not uncommon among the Cayapa. There is some feeling that the death may have been caused by the survivor.

An interesting point emerges that is part of a general Cayapa theme: Lorenzo waited about five years before remarrying, and apparently the motivation lay not so much in his sexual needs, as in his appetite for food. His mother-in-law was not preparing his meals properly. It should be kept in mind that, by Cayapa standards, a man who is capable of /súpu taŋgahímu/,[1] who can actually walk up to a woman and propose to her, is deserving of envy, awe, and admiration. This means that such a man is sexually forward and aggressive. Many, if not most, Cayapa men are very hesitant and uncertain about sex and marriage. While chastity is not particularly valued, men in their twenties who claim to have had no sexual intercourse are not uncommon. Women, on the other hand, lose their virginity much

[1] [i.e. "to steal a woman" - ANALYST]

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earlier by way of the custom of night courtship described above. These affairs need not end in marriage, and both parties are free to seek greener pastures. It is the decided impression of the writer that the Cayapa women are the sexual initiators generally and that they are visited by a comparatively small number of sexual activists among the men.

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Arranged Marriages. Most men do not have the brashness of character required to steal a woman, and many are not able to carry through a successful night courtship. For them, therefore an arranged marriage is necessary. One way of arranging a marriage is for the father of a young man or woman to ask one of the tribal officials to find a spouse for his offspring. If the official does not know of anyone immediately available, he will make inquiries at whatever fiesta he happens to attend. There is no charge for this service.

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This sort of match-making was attempted unsuccessfully at a fiesta that I attended at Sapallo Grande in 1960. The fiesta was a combined affair, honoring the dead and celebrating a recent marriage.

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It was sponsored by Marianito Añapa of the Río Camerones who is a member of the Sapallo Grande section. The marriage was for one of his sons. During the festivities it was noticed that Ciro Añapa, a young man in his twenties, was very drunk and he seemed to be having a difficult time with Trivinio Balsor who is one of the policía of the Punta Venado section. Trivinio was also very drunk. From time to time, Ciro would break out in tears and loud sobs while Trivinio spoke to him. After a while, Ciro pushed Trivinio away from him and went to another part of the room where he continued to cry and sob for a long time. All that had happened was that Trivinio had told Ciro that he had a girl waiting whom he could have in marriage. Ciro kept protesting that he was too young and that he wanted to finish the fourth grade at the school in Encanto. The sequence of events leading to this lacrimose scene began with the girl's father having spoken to an official of the Sapallo Grande section, who in turn had spoken to Trivinio.

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Sometimes the father of a marriageable girl will ask an official to deliver her to a specific man

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whom he fancies as a son-in-law. As an instance, Gerardo Perdomo of Encanto asked the late /únʸi/, Arcilio, to deliver his daughter to Camilio Blanco during an Easter fiesta at Punta Venado. Camilio was most reluctant when approached by Arcilio. He said that he was too young in the first place, and in the second place, he did not want to get married anyway. The /únʸi/ pointed out that all of Camilio's siblings had died unmarried and that he could too. At this point Camilio agreed to marry Gerardo's daughter.

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Occasionally a man's kinfolk will decide that he has been too long a bachelor or a widower. When someone hears of an available woman in any of the Cayapa sections, one or two men go to speak to the woman's family. If the parents agree to let their daughter marry the man under discussion, she leaves at once with the match-makers, taking only her clothing and ornaments. They then bring the woman to the home of the unsuspecting groom-to-be. The man may refuse the profferred one; in this case, the men who brought her will try to deliver her to someone else. If she fails again to be accepted, they will return her to her family

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who will be most annoyed and an argument most certainly will follow. If the prospective bridegroom is doubtful, the men talk to him earnestly of the pleasures of married life while the woman, very wisely, says nothing, but sits very still with downcast eyes--"very still and very quiet." Most often she is accepted.

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Many times a man has a definite woman in mind for marriage but is not at all sure that he can get her by means of any of the techniques so far discussed. Then, too, it may be that another person has a particular woman in mind for a certain man, and, similarly, is not too sure that he can bring off the marriage. In either case a commission is formed, consisting of two Indians who are usually related to the man under consideration and two Negroes. The Indian members of the commission are not paid except with a few drinks. The Negroes receive some money and two or three gallons of home-distilled rum which, as Barrett once correctly remarked, "is clear in color and vile in taste."

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The Indians on the commission are first to enter the house of the prospective bride. They present

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their case to the family, and if refused, they then point out that two Negroes are waiting in the canoe. This means that the commission will fight, if need be, to get the girl. [For the Cayapa, the Negro is a threatening figure, both in fact and in fancy.] At this point, agreement may be reached between the commission and the girl's family, or a fight may develop. In either event, so far as is known to the writer, a commission always gets its woman.

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Problems in Courtship and Marriage. Many men among the Cayapa are reluctant to take the initiative in romantic affairs, but from time to time one finds among them men like Chapiro of the Río Camerones, who seems to delight in amorous peccadillos and adventures. Chapiro has the reputation of preferring married women with whom it is said he would make love, while the husband slept only inches away on the same bedding. He pretended to be the husband and apparently deceived the wives with a large measure of success for a time.

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Chapiro caught in flagrant delicto. One night while pretending to be Pablo Añapa, Chapiro was caught

of the case were clear, and a witness was present. It is of interest that Pablo's wife seems to have convinced everyone of her innocence in the affair and that she had been truly hoodwinked. Chapiro's reputation was of course, well known, and guilt was held to be his alone. Even though justice prevailed, Chapiro was disgruntled and left without drinking. This in itself would be sufficient to mark him as a deviant, for Basurco's observations are still very much applicable.

> . . . leur seul vice est de rendre un culte trop fréquent à Bacchus, auquel ils font des libations d'ichcala, ou eau-de-vie de canne, qu'ils fabriquent eux-mêmes . . . (Basurco 1894:406).

In marked contrast to many Cayapa men, Chapiro has always been more interested in sexual pursuits than in drinking and the married men in the area were beginning to view him as a real threat. In instances like this it is felt that the best way to remove the threat is to marry him off, forcibly, if need be. In the case of Chapiro events came to a head after he had seduced Gabriel's daughter.

The Seduction of Gabriel's daughter. Chapiro was

The pressure lantern remained in Gabriel's house. About two weeks later when the lantern had not been returned to him, Chapiro went looking for it at night in Gabriel's house, but he couldn't find it. He kept asking for the lantern, and eventually, after two or three months, it was returned to him.

The lack of interest on the part of the young woman, coupled with Chapiro's poor reputation, apparently led Gabriel to make it clear to Chapiro that he did not want him as a son-in-law. A year or two later, the /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio, died and Gabriel became the chief. Gabriel now began to consider Chapiro's threat to his daughter, who was now married. He ordered Lorenzo Añapa and Aurelio Añapa, two of the /cá$^{v/i}$tala/, to go up to Sapallo Grande during Christmas and to bring back a wife for Chapiro. They found a woman who was lame and not very eagerly sought after as a marriage partner, inasmuch as she could not work effectively in the monte. They brought her to Chapiro's house and presented her to him. He refused to take her, but Lorenzo said that if he did not take the girl, he would beat him. Chapiro then agreed to

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marry her. In 1960 he seemed happy with his wife, especially since she gave birth to a boy, and since his marriage he apparently has stayed close to home.

It may be that the choice of a crippled wife for Chapiro was deliberate and with malice aforethought. Chapiro's reputation, however, extended beyond the sexual sphere, and he was known to be lazy and a poor worker. Most women would have refused him as a husband anyway. What is important, however, is the fact that the solution worked, and that Chapiro was effectively removed from circulation. It should be mentioned for the record that when he was queried about Chapiro's wife, Lorenzo Añapa reported, with what appeared to the writer to be no small measure of satisfaction, "She can't work very well in the fields because of her bad leg."

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For the Cayapa, marriages are not all made in heaven, and many times legal difficulties both attend and follow a marriage. The parents of Chapiro's bride did not object to her marriage at all; however, as women are economically useful, some families that lack one or another of the parents attempt to keep the

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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girl at home as long as possible. This may lead to disputes and hard feelings.

Carmelina, a crippled girl, is taken by a sacrilege commission over the protests of her mother. The late chief, Arcilio, had a sister's daughter named Carmelina who was crippled in one leg. She lived with her mother and younger brother, near Playa Grande. One night a commission of two Negroes and two Indians came to take the girl to Alipio Cisarrón who also lived near Playa Grande. First, the two Indians came into the house leaving the two Negroes in the canoe. They spoke with the mother, but she did not want the girl to get married "as she was badly crippled." The two Indians pointed out that they had two Negroes with them, but the mother was adamant. The Indians then called in the Negroes who were named José Isidro and Añano Vallejo, both of Playa Grande. The four men came into the house and removed the girl by force. She fell outside of the house and began to cry, but they picked her up and placed her in the canoe, still crying. All the while, the mother kept shouting at the men, but the girl's brother remained silent, as he had been

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during the whole affair. The commission then took the girl to Alipio's house which was not too distant. After a few days, Alipio and Carmelina hid in a small shelter or rancho up a small stream. Meanwhile, the mother went to see her brother, the chief, to advise him of the event. After several days, he left with some of his male relatives, looking for the couple. They were found in Alipio's house. Aurilio punished both of them with ten lashes. Afterwards he brought Carmelina back to her mother's house, but she protested that she wanted to remain with Alipio. Alipio claimed that he had not sent for Carmelina to be brought to him because "she is crippled and not a good worker." On this point, the informant, Pedrito Ampa, says that Alipio is not a good worker himself and cannot make high-grade canoes.

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About a week later, Alipio's younger brother "stole" Carmelina, and they went into hiding up an estuary, for some time. Everyone was looking for them. Alipio eventually found them and brought them to his house, whereupon they all became drunk. One result of this drunkenness was an attack by Alipio

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on his brother. A few days later, the /un³l/ found them and removed Carmelina to his house, and from there she was sent to a man from the Río Onzole. In the meantime, Carmelina's brother became enamored of Alipio's sister. He 'stole' her, and they hid for a week, but were caught by Alipio when they came out of the monte. He took his sister home, declaring that she still had a lot of work to do around the house, such as making faro for sale on the coast. The young man 'stole' her again, apparently keeping her for a considerable time, at least sufficient for it to become clear that the woman was now pregnant, and so they remained together. At Punta Venado, during one of the fiestas, the /un³l/ ordered them to be whipped twenty lashes.

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Carmelina was crippled, and yet she was eagerly sought after by two men, in marked contrast to Chapiro's crippled wife. The choice of marriage partners for both Alipio and Chapiro had been considerably restricted, due to their poor work habits. Alipio's brother posed something of a problem. It is not known that he was lazy also, but certainly the reputation of his

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brother did not give him any advantage. The reluctance of some families to part peacefully with their unmarried female members stems in part from economic factors. Even though Carmelina was crippled, she was still of great assistance to her mother. Similarly, Alipio hoped to realize some profit from his sister's handiwork before permitting her to marry. As Carmelina's mother did not object to her daughter's marriage to the man from the Río Onzole, it can be assumed that he was more desirable as a son-in-law than either Alipio or his brother. She probably realized that she would not be able to prevent her daughter from leaving home much longer since the girl had made it clear, after her brief sojourn with Alipio, that she wanted a man—any man.

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The marriage commission as a device for arranging marriages is apparently very common although it is not always enfunctional. Quite often more problems are raised than are settled by the commission's attempt at match-making as witnessed in the following case.

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Romulo appeals to a White official. Romulo lived with his wife and children, as well as with a dependent woman relative named Inez Cimarrón; this relative had been divorced by her husband because all of their children had died soon after birth. She had gone to live with Romulo and his wife immediately after the divorce. Some time later, a commission composed of two Negroes named Nikola Ayovi and Aurelio Caruso, and an Indian named Dámian Largo, came up from Playa Grande at the request of Averticio Largo, a 'cousin' of Dámian. Averticio was a widower [and so could only marry a widow or a divorcee], and he specifically asked the commission to bring Inez for him. The members of the commission had been given a few gallons of rum for this favor. Romulo, however, refused to give the woman up, claiming that he needed her to watch the house and children when he and his wife were out working, since they had no other relations. The Negroes replied that they would use force if need be. At this, Romulo went for his machete, but, as he was ill at the time, he could not fight effectively. The woman was removed, crying, from the

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house and brought to Averticio. The next day, the Teniente Político, a national official of Borbón, came down the river from Telembí. He was hailed by Romulo who explained the happening to him. They both then went up to Playa Grande where a party was in progress in Averticio's house. The official took the woman back and fined the two Negroes sixty sucres each, but Dámian Largo was not fined. Averticio pointed out to the official that he had sent the commission in good faith and had not asked for the use of force. Inez also made it clear that she did not want to marry Averticio because he was too old.

Of interest here is the fact that Romulo appealed to a non-Indian official who is not ordinarily approached by the Cayapa in matters of this kind. Doubtless, it was the fortuitous juxtaposition of circumstances that brought the Teniente Político into view while Romulo's anger was still at its height. The official's decision was not completely just. In the first place, he clearly favored the Indians over the Negroes and consequently he did not fine the Indian member of the commission. In the second place,

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Averticio lied when he said that he had not asked for the use of force by the commission. Mens rea marked Averticio's actions and he was an accessory before and after the fact. By requesting the two Negroes for the commission he gave tacit approval to the use of force. If Romulo had complained to an Indian official, the latter would have been unable to deal legally with the Negroes, and he would have restricted his investigation to Averticio and Dámian. When Negroes are involved, and feelings are running high among the aggrieved Cayapa, self-help may be resorted to, as the following case demonstrates.

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Perdomo fights for his sister. Perdomo lived with his wife, mother, and sister in a house up the Río Camerones. One night a commission composed of the usual two Indians and two Negroes came to the house. The two Indians spoke first. They had come to deliver Perdomo's sister to Manuel Largo of Playa Grande. Perdomo and his mother refused. [Manuel was said to be very ugly, thin, and weak.] Following this refusal, the two Negroes came in to take the girl forcibly. She began to cry whereupon Perdomo went for his machete

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and threatened the Negroes. One of them answered that he was willing to fight, and at this, Perdomo backed down. The commission then left with the girl. They brought her to Manuel Largo who hid with her in the house of José Mina, one of the Negro members of the commission.

Two days later Perdomo managed to gather together ten kinsmen and friends, and they all left in two canoes, taking the girl's mother along. A Negro told them where the girl was hidden, and they headed straight for José Mina' house. They argued a great deal with the two Negroes, but the commissioners claimed that everything was all right; "after all the girl was not marrying a relative." The argument waxed hotter, and finally machetes began to swing. This all took place in front of the house, while from within the house the girl could be heard crying and pleading for rescue. As the fighting began, the girl's mother began crying, telling the men not to fight, or they would kill each other. This had no effect. The Negro woman shouted that if they kept on fighting, they would all be fined. At this, tempers cooled, the fighting ceased, and the Indians returned home without the girl.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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Indians returned home without the girl. Several days later, Manuel Largo took his reluctant bride up a small nearby stream to hide, since he feared a return of the girl's family. The girl apparently entertained no such hopes anymore, and when they had gone a short distance upstream, she told Manuel to go on up ahead and wait for her as she wanted to defecate. When he was gone from view, she ran through the monte and later that day she arrived at the house of Juanito Cimarrón of Pichiyaco. Even though Juanito was not related to her, he arranged for one of his sons to return her to her home; nothing more was ever done about this incident.

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If Manuel Largo was indeed small, thin, and ugly, then Perdomo's sister would view the arrangement with something less than enthusiasm. If Manuel was indeed weak, then the family in general could join the girl in her refusal. A man who is weak certainly would not be a very good provider for the wife, and, as a man is expected to help his in-laws when needed, he would not be of much use to them. The material presented so far indicates that a woman has a great deal to say as to whether or not she will marry and/or to whom. A

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determined woman will usually have her way, and many Cayapa women are determined:

Earlier, in the case of Carmelina, we saw that the relatives of the /únʸi/ were not immune from being manhandled by a commission. In the following case we shall see an instance in which the very authority of the /únʸi/ was flouted.

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Mother removes her daughter from the bridegroom's home. Several years ago Kalía wanted to send his sister to marry a man on the Río Camerones. The mother objected, saying that the girl was much too young. They all later went as guests to a baile de casamiento, that is, a wedding feast celebrated usually a year or two after a man and woman have been living together as man and wife. The late /únʸi/, Arcilio, was asked by the prospective bridegroom's brother to deliver the girl, and this was done. The girl's mother said nothing at the time, but when she returned to the Río Camerones, she marched into the bridegroom's house and took her daughter home with her. The bridegroom's mother protested, but that was all. The elder brother

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of the would-be bridegroom notified Arcilio who, in turn, sent Bardonero Cimarrón who is 'family' to the bridegroom to demand that the girl be delivered. Kalía also remonstrated with his mother. Finally, she stated that as long as the girl seemed to be pregnant, she would agree to the marriage.

Not only did the mother flout the authority of the /ún^{y}i/, it is very likely that if she had been strongly adamant, she would perhaps have been whipped, but she would have kept her daughter. The matter of marriage commissions is most intriguing. Clearly, this sort of match-making could not take place in a society in which there were strong corporate bodies, where family extensions were important. In a society as loosely structured as is the Cayapa, the marriage commissions could rove the countryside with a minimum of interference.

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Widows and Widowers. Max Heiman states that widows and widowers never remarry among the Cayapa (Heiman 1931:287). My studies among the Cayapa fail completely to substantiate Heiman's statement. In point of fact, most widows and widowers remarry, the only

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Polygyny. Max Heiman stated that "Die Dayapa leben in sehr harmonischer Ehe, Vielweiberei . . . gibt es bei ihnen nicht" (Heiman 1931:286). If the situation of pristine monogamy were true in 1931 or earlier in 1909, when Barrett reported nothing in the way of polygyny, it was certainly not true in 1960. To account for the change, we can look towards the expanding money economy that began to envelop the Cayapa several decades ago. Between 1931 and 1960, an economic factor of tremendous magnitude developed in Ecuador. Bananas began to be commercially valuable and in the boom period of the late 1940's and early 1950's the best prices were always to be had near the coast, and it was from the coastal areas that most of the following cases came.

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Cristobal uses his brother as a pawn to get a second wife. Cristobal, who lived at Viche, was a brujo or 'witch.' He came up from the coast one time to cure Margarita of an illness. She was single at the time. During the night while the curing session was going on, Cristobal seduced his patient. Later he asked her father to let him deliver her to his brother in Viche and the father agreed. When they arrived at Viche, it appeared

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that the brother was much too young, whereupon Margarita agreed to marry Cristobal even though he was already married. They were subsequently married by a priest. Santian, Cristobal's brother, resented this and complained to the /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio. Margarita claimed that the charges were not true and that she had, indeed, been delivered to Santian and was living with him. Arcilio ordered Cristobal and Margarita to receive twenty lashes. The sentence was minimal because they claimed "never to have embraced." Then they were told that they would receive two hundred lashes if they made love from then on. When they returned to Viche from Punta Venado, Margarita lived with Santian for about four months; following this, Cristobal took her back. The brothers had harsh words but did not exchange blows. Cristobal's two wives appeared to live together amicably. About a year later the father of the first wife took his daughter back with him. She had been crippled for some time, and people were saying that Cristobal had bewitched her. When her father died soon afterwards, Santian accused his brother of having killed him. Cristobal's first wife confirmed this. However, Cristobal and Margarita denied the charge. When the /ún^{y}i/ asked

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